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FREE SOCIETY

LIBERTY, NOT BREAD, WILL FREE MANKIND.

VOL. VII. NO. 1. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1901. WHOLE NO. 299.

A Century Poem.

We stand here at the end of mighty years,
And a great wonder rushes on the heart.
While cities rose and blossomed into dust,
While shadowy lines of kings were blown to air,
What was the purpose brooding on the world,
Through the large leisure of the centuries?
And what the end—failure or victory?

Lo, man has laid his scepter on the stars,
And sent his spell upon the continents.
The heavens confess their secrets, and the stones,
Silent as God, publish their mystery.
Man calls the lightnings from their secret place
To crumble up the spaces of the world,
And snatch the jewels from the flying hours.
The wild white smoking horses of the sea
Are startled by his thunders; the world powers
Crowd round to be the lackeys of the king.

His hand has torn the veil of the Great Law,
The law that was made before the worlds—before
That far first whisper on the ancient deep,
The law that swings Arcturus, on the North,
And hurls the soul of man upon the way.
But what avail, O, builders of the world,
Unless ye build a safety for the soul?
Man has put harness on Leviathan,
And hooks in his incorrigible jaws;
And yet the perils of the street remain.
Out of the whirlwind of the cities rise
Lean Hunger and the Worm of Misery,
The heartbreak and the cry of mortal tears.

But hark, the bugles blowing on the peaks:
And hark, a murmur as of many feet,
The cry of captains, the divine alarm;
Look! the last son of Time comes hurrying on,
The strong young Titan of Democracy;
With swinging step he takes the open road,
In love with the winds that beat his hairy breast,
Baring his sunburnt strength to all the world,
He casts his eyes around with Jovian glance—
Searches the tracts of old tradition; scans
With rebel heart the books of pedigree;
Peers into the face of Privilege and cries,
"Why are you halting in the path of man?
Is it your shoulder bears the human load?
Do you draw down the rains of the sweet heaven,
And keep the green things growing?
Back to hell!"

We know at last the future is secure;
God is descending from eternity,
And all things, good and evil, build the road.
Yes, down in the thick of things, the men of greed
Are thumping the inhospitable clay.
By wonderous toils the men without the dream,
Led onward by a something unawares,
Are laying the foundations of the dream,
The kingdom of fraternity foretold.

—Edwin Markham.

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Liberty and Organization.

When I speak of the liberty of the masses, I do not presume to be able to abolish the natural influence which individuals or groups of individuals exert upon each other. What I want to achieve is the abolition of artificial influences, which are privileged, legalized, and official. Under present conditions the destiny of mankind certainly depends upon a relatively small number of individuals, while the masses are oppressed by misery, brutalized by superstition, and sunk in degeneration. Hence it is impossible that these masses should rise in a moment to the height of understanding their duty, or even to the possibility of regulating their own activity in such a manner as to be productive of the greatest good. But the fact that the ruling and guiding powers nowadays active in society belong to but few is no reason to restrict these powers still more, and to place the many under the guardianship of the few. Nor is there any reason to form human society in such a manner that the most active forces, the greatest talents, will finally be outside of government, and will be deprived of all influence upon social life. Whatever takes place today is a consequence of idleness, favored by secure positions, of the descendibility of protection, and of the whole mechanism of government. Those government officials who, after they relinquished their original social positions, are solely concerned in the maintenance of their power, lose all ability to act free, and they become an obstacle to the free activity of others.

If this negative activity, representing the government, is abolished, society will become what it can be with the forces and capacities on hand. Cultured people desirous of disseminating culture will organize the schools, and will endeavor to achieve the usefulness and enjoyment which are the result of attained education. If there are no such people, or but few of them, government certainly cannot produce them. All that government can do, and, in fact, does, is to take these few out of practical and productive work in the sphere of education and to employ them in order to guide what can only be executed with the aid of a system of police. In this manner intelligent and eager teachers become mere politicians, who degenerate into useless parasites, wholly imbued with the desire to introduce their own fixed ideas, and to remain in office. Thus the new society will make use of physicians, engineers, and other professional men. What government does with them today is simply to accredit them in the eyes of the people. If there were no professional men government certainly could not produce them.

Revolution, in abolishing government and private property, does not create any force which does not already exist; but it will create a free field for the execution of every useful force and capacity. While revolution will of necessity destroy every class which is interested in the oppression of the masses, it will, on the other hand, produce a condition which will permit every one to work, and to make his or her influence felt in proportion to his own abilities, and in accord with his sentiment and interests.

In this way alone is the elevation of the masses possible; for liberty alone can teach them to be free, just as labor alone can teach them how to work.

Suppose government were in the hands of the best of the people? Who are the best, and how shall their superiority be recognized? The majority, as a rule, cling to prejudices, and has ideas and instincts which the more developed minority has already outgrown. But which one of the different minorities who believe that they are in the right, and probably are right in part, will be elected to govern? And by whom? And by what system? Only the future can show which one of the parties is superior. If a hundred adherents of a dictatorship are elected, it will be found that every single one of this hundred thinks himself able to be, if not sole dictator, at least a material part in the dictatorial government.

I advocate Anarchism and Socialism, because I believe that they must be realized as quickly as possible. This means that the revolution will dislodge the governments and abolish all private property, and will entrust all public affairs, which then will embrace the whole social life, to the voluntary, free, unofficial, and unauthorized activity of every one interested. There will, of course, be difficulties and inconveniences; but the people will be determined; and the people alone can solve all questions in an Anarchistic manner—that is, by the direct participation of all interested, and by free accord.—Enrico Malatesta, in the *Chicago Tribune*.

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Capital Punishment.

There will be presented to the legislature, convened here in Denver this winter, five different bills for the re-establishment of capital punishment. One of them no doubt will be passed.

It is tolerably well known that there is quite an element of progressive thought in this State. Colorado has had a governor who was one of the people, and who with his wife refused to hob-nob with the blue blood on Capitol Hill; who placed the city in a state of civil war rather than give up a point for the people which he thought was right. Women vote here and pull wires with the rest of the politicians; women's clubs are more prosperous and powerful than the churches; and the Single Taxers have captured the majority of the official plums this year. The abolition of capital punishment a few years ago, was one of the radical measures passed; and many of the people were quite proud of their daring.

But they are very particular about the grade of radicalism they confess to. Men who wanted to "wade in blood up to their bridle bits" with Waite, shudder if you call them Socialists or Anarchists; and men who can split the air about freedom and the bill of rights, want you to distinctly understand "they ain't no Anarchists." So now, many of those who voted to abolish capital punishment, are anxious to prove their purity of heart and very good sense by voting it back again. How much of real, tangible, radical thought we have here is shown by

the arguments put forth in favor of the death penalty.

The terrible Limon affair, and the lynching of a colored man in Pueblo a year ago, are cited as excellent reasons for re-instating the law for hanging; they say that if the citizens could have been certain that the law would hang the criminals, they would have allowed it to take its course. It is certain that they would not. Nothing but the stake would have satisfied those ferocious wild beasts at Limon; and the people at Pueblo did not give the law a thought. Less than ten years ago, before the death penalty was abolished in this State, right in front of the house in which I live, two poor ignorant Italians were dragged through the streets with ropes around their necks, and finally amid the hideous glee of the mob, were hung to telegraph poles until dead. What did that mob care for the law then?

It is urged that criminals do not fear life imprisonment enough; that they must be sure that death will be the reward for their deeds, or they will keep on murdering. I doubt if the fear of hanging ever kept any man from committing a murder. When a man or woman kills another human being, it is usually from some motive so strong that for the time being all thought of consequences is obliterated from the mind. Light or heavy be the consequences, the person does not mean to be caught in it. If we must depend on the severity of the punishment alone to prevent murder, we ought to go back to the old systems of torture; we should rack, burn, boil in oil, tear in pieces, since hanging simply does *not* stop murder. If revenge is the end sought, what is the use of stopping at hanging? If revenge ever did any good, ever deterred any one from doing a deed that hereditary conditions, or other motives drove them to commit; if it ever brought any compensation or soothed a breaking heart, then go in for revenge with all your might. Don't stop for any humane considerations, if revenge be the aim—take all of it you can get.

If reform be the object sought in capital punishment, well—that is useless, since dead men can't be reformed.

I can think of nothing more coolly diabolical than a legal execution. One can conceive of a murder done in the heat of passion or in a spasm of fear, or for avarice, when that faculty is abnormally developed. But I cannot comprehend how respectable, educated and enlightened men can deliberately plot and plan for the life of a man who never injured them, through weeks and months; who can calmly go on with preparations for killing their fellow man, for days and days; who can lead him up to the spot, feel his pulse, watch his looks and every action, scientifically study his symptoms, and ghoul-like peer at him until the last faint convulsive heart throb has ceased! Then go home to the bosom of their families, eat a good dinner, and sit in slippered ease before the fires, gratified with life and its comforts!

As I said in a former article, nothing but the fiction of State, a mysterious something which sanctifies acts no man could justify in himself as an individual, induces educated and enlightened men to do this. A mob may be lashed to a frenzy by respectable newspapers and over-righteous preachers. The governments of the world have done so much to teach the people that human life is easily and righteously taken, that ignorant, half-made beings may in a fit of passion kill their fellow men. But nothing but the fetich of government could make a wise man coolly and devilishly plot to kill a human being, whom he had no personal object in killing, through a period of days, weeks and months, with no relenting. I think one of the greatest errors of the day is in the endeavor conventional sociologists make in classifying criminals. They never look in the right place for them.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

Denver, Colo., 605 Charles Bldg.

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Suspicion.

Why do the working people distrust one another? Why, in spite of their poverty-stricken condition, which ought to teach them that they have erred, do they trust their masters and the old social order composed of institutions launched and landed by the master class?

Bear in mind, the station of the worker is that of a servant. The ancestors of this division of society were conquered centuries ago, aye, in some cases, thousands of centuries ago. When I say worker, I do not mean those of any particular nationality. Their drudging and poverty are analogous on every part of the globe.

In former times, if a gang of invaders whipped a tribe (as "we" now do!), the defeated people were despoiled of their lands and treasures. The despoilers assumed superiority in everything. If they deigned to permit the conquered to live, they forced them to do so in conformity with systems of rent, taxation, trade and service which they formulated and foisted upon them. Their every day conduct was regulated by rules. Prominent among these rules were, "Obey the law," and, "Thou shalt not steal!" If numbers of the dispossessed refused to submit to domination, they were declared to be "outlaws."

The training of the young in all that pertained to the social order was attended to by the masters (as in the Philippines!), who asserted that they were themselves the embodiments of *honor*, while they were in no wise bound to credit the subjected with ever speaking the truth, or with any praiseworthy actions. They thus cultivated suspicion of, and contempt for, one another amongst the "lower classes."

In the commercial system of rule which has always prevailed in the United States, the old methods of education were retained. It requires the testimony of two private soldiers to equal in value that of a commissioned officer. The simple statement of an "influential" man in a community, is of greater consequence, by far, than the most positive affirmation of a "hobo" could possibly be. Rank, property, fine clothes, polite manners and grammatical speech, inspire confidence among both rulers and ruled. Poverty arouses suspicion, and its declarations carry no weight with them.

Will social facts, when cleared of conventional hocus-pocus, warrant the ingrained faith in institutions in which the credit and discredit demarkations are made by riches and poverty?

It seems incredible that the public mind can be warped in its judgments of the commonest occurrences in life, every detail of which is conspicuous. For example: a tribe is robbed of even the right to exist except as it may please the conquerors to graciously, or otherwise, concede to it certain formulated privileges (?), and the magnanimity of the deal is pompously set forth and sanctioned; but if a laborer appropriates food, clothing, books, or a comfort or a luxury without having followed the forms prescribed by the master class of first selling his sweat and then buying the articles with his pittance of wage, he is denounced as a menace to society, and is mercilessly persecuted, his fellow workers acquiescing in and approving both censure and punishment.

Will human judgment never become more accurate?

The business affairs of the world, when executed on a grand scale, are claimed to be the best of which it is possible to conceive; but when the very same principles are manipulated in a small way, it can readily be seen that there is nothing but cheat and be cheated connected with them.

As the dealings of the toilers with one another are invariably a series of petty transactions, easily viewed from all points, the crookedness in "straight dealing" is glaringly shown up. As they find themselves tricked now by this one, now by that one, they are in time convinced that their co-workers are the personifications of dishonor, dishonesty and every description of corruptibility.

The old ideals of honor and honesty require the investigator's probe quite as much as the old ideals of love, morality, duty, self-sacrifice, etc.

Who is an "honest" laborer? The one who unflinchingly and carefully works out the stint laid off for him; who economically spends his "pay"; and who respects to the last tithe the property claims of the "prosperous," "envying them not," etc.

Well?

With the rubbish called ideals, invented by rulers, shewn up in their true light, it is to be hoped the suspicions of the laborers will be transferred from one another to the "authorities," and to the social systems forced upon them by the powerful.

The idea is being spread that the way to better the condition of the disinherited is to retake possession of the monopolized land, machinery, products, etc. The question arises, must the individual toiler or the unemployed wait till this can be done at one dash? Must poverty-crippled lives be painfully dragged out, waiting, waiting for the millennium, long delayed? Or shall those who have freed themselves from old superstitions, risk the possibility of losing caste among martyrs by challenging their code of honor? Can they ward off the suspicions of those they wish to educate, if they *act* as well as talk? Is it expected that those who proclaim against the religious and political humbugs will adhere to the Church and affiliate with politicians? Shall those who scoff at the notion of public supervision of love relations persist in asking the consent of friends and authorities for their associations with lovers? Must the proposers of the plan for re-taking for the toilers the property of

of the privileged robbers, pinch their stomachs and live lives of economic barrenness so as to avoid being suspected of dishonesty of purpose? Is it insisted upon that agitators must walk the chalk line of old time honor, the honor invented and recommended by their masters?

Persons of revolutionary inclinations cheer the agitators who, in defiance of authority, spread their opinions broadcast either orally or by means of the press, look askance at those who dare to undertake entire charge of their own love affairs; hiss those who risk their liberty by taking commodities which all admit rightfully belongs to them, but legally to the monopolist. The first, if "caught," is a "martyr"; the second, a "disreputable" person; the third, a "thief!"

It goes without saying that conventional people look upon those who infringe or ignore any formula as "suspicious characters."

VIROQUA DANIELS.

Los Angeles, Cal.

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Discords.

The *Weekly People*, while admitting that FREE SOCIETY states the position of the Socialist Labor Party "with refreshing fairness," complains that in assailing Millerandism, I misused the term "Socialist." According to this modest organ, "there is no Socialism in America outside of what the Socialist Labor Party calls such." I do not marvel that the rigid leaders of the S. L. P. abhor the wobbling and compromising tactics of the Social Democratic press. With this attitude, the Anarchist fully agrees. He, however, goes one step farther, and maintains that entrance into political life is itself a fundamental compromise with the bourgeoisie, and an absurdly illogical act for a revolutionary party. Its only hope of gaining political power in a bourgeois age is by the adoption of bourgeois methods. The Social Democrats, in their rush for power, are gradually shuffling off their Socialism. The Socialist Labor Party, in its determination to clave fast to Socialism, is permanently self-exiled from power. Neither one, nor any other political organization, can ever upset the capitalist system. Either the desire or the power to do so is sure to be wanting. A revolutionary end can only be obtained by revolutionary means. The ballot-box is an ingenious toy, but no weapon for the emancipation of the workers. Modifications within a given industrial or political system may be wrought by means of it; but it can never serve to revolutionize the system. No "class struggle," such as the Socialists claim to discern, was ever won in this manner; and it is safe to assert that none ever will be. As to the term "Socialist," no man or sect of men has an arbitrary right to limit its meaning to a narrower sense than that in which it has always been used. Socialists may be classified as good, bad, consistent, inconsistent, utopian, Christian, sentimental, Marxian, scientific, State, class-consious, authoritarian, libertarian, and the like; but the generic term "Socialist" can no more be confined to members of the Socialist Labor Party, than can the name "Christian" be confined to members of the Roman Catholic Church.

C. C. Moore is always amusing, and sometime instructive. Just now, he is engaged in informing Anarchists that they are totally unacquainted with their own views. He is very fond of many of us, but feels it incumbent on him to point out the delusion under which we labor, in supposing ourselves to be Anarchists. The only real Anarchists he can conceive of are the absurd distortions of the daily press. I fear it would be useless to counsel Mr. Moore to procure and read the works of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Grave, Reclus, and Malatesta, with a view to acquiring some real knowledge of the subject. I have always believed in the honesty and sincerity of the erratic editor of the *Blue Grass Blade;* but he is one of the least teachable men in America. To the last, we shall have to go on saying, "Charlie Moore is a good fellow, and means well, but—!"

* * *

Brann's Iconoclast would do well to confine its attention to subjects with which it has some acquaintance. Stanford University is a semi-public institution, obtaining favors from the public on certain pretences. When it asks that its property be exempt from taxation, and that other privileges be conferred on it; when it appeals to young men and women to put themselves in its charge, it does so on the claim of furnishing honest instruction in the various branches of human knowledge, and not of being subsidized to suppress whatever truths are unpalatable to a certain class. If this claim is a lie, and no professor can hold his position without becoming a sneaking toady, or at the least so unmanly that he dares not exercise the rights of a citizen, outside the class-room, by expressing his views on public questions, the public has a right to know and denounce the disgraceful fact. Brann himself lost his life for denouncing what he deemed vicious in a certain educational institution. His successor shows but little of the same fearless spirit.

At the risk of provoking another outburst from the *Iconoclast*, who evidently conceives truth and honesty in educational matters as mere idols to be smashed, I will add that the outrages at Stanford have gone still further. Professor Howard, for uttering a manly protest against the wrong to Professor Ross, has been discharged; and Professors Hudson and Little have resigned, in indignation at the action taken. The surrender to the worst elements of capitalism is complete. Could anything else be expected?

* * *

After becoming aware of the continued cruelties practised by American officers and soldiers in the Philippines, it is rather surprising to find any human being calling for still greater severity toward the men who are guilty of wishing to be free. The voice so raised is, characteristically enough, that of Archbishop Chapelle. It takes a thorough man of God to hate liberty, and revel in bloodshed. That is why the Church is always to be found on the side of tyranny and wholesale murder.

* * *

Ella Wheeler Wilcox thinks that marriage is necessary to an ideal love relation. To be sure, she gives no reason for her position, except that contained in the bald assertion that man is not satisfied until he owns woman, and that woman is not satisfied, until she is owned by man. What an admission that marriage is only another name for bondage!

* * *

It is now the turn of Kansas to be disgraced by the burning of a Negro at the stake. Leavenworth is evidently another nest of blackhearted and cowardly scoundrels. And all the governor can think of is to advocate the introduction of the death penalty into the mob-cursed State. Fool! Does he not know that the death penalty prevails all through the South, where the vast majority of the lynchings take place? A barbarous law is not the means of making men less barbarous. The more law, the more viciousness, is the observed sequence. Why not try the humanizing influence of liberty?

* * *

A Montreal landlady recently voiced a great truth. An eloping couple stopped with her a few days, having registered as man and wife. She declared to a reporter that she "kind of thought there was something wrong," because they seemed so fond of each other, quite the reverse of a properly married couple. Her keenness of observation is worthy of great praise.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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Modern Fables.

A certain metaphysician, after much metaphysical research, came to the conclusion that, as the power in the muscles of his arms were sufficient to raise a weight equal to that of his body, he could raise himself to the moon by lifting up on his boot-straps. He accordingly did so, and after strenuous efforts, succeeded only in breaking both straps, and getting a tumble. Whereat he resolved to succeed better next time, by fastening the straps more securely.

Moral: Social reformers who think to usher in the millennium via the ballot-box, should consider whether the means are adequate to the end.

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When Aguinaldo, the Filipino Washington, was a little boy, his father one day presented him with a bright, new tomahawk. Aguinaldo was so pleased with it, that he went about trying its edge on everything in sight. Some time after, his father found a mahogony tree sixteen feet in diameter that stood in the back yard cut down. When he mentioned it to his son, little Aguinaldo with tears in his eyes said: "Father, I cannot tell a lie: I did it with my little hatchet."

Moral: This George Washington business is occasionally overdone, especialy by those politicians who talk the loudest about their paliative love for the dear people, and offer themselves as a sacrifice upon the altar of their country's—pie-counter.

ROSS WINN.

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Statistics recently published in Russia show that between 1854 and 1884 more than 750,000 persons were sent to Siberia as convicts. It is the sole aim of these poor wretches to get away from their servitude, and during the last twenty years it is estimated that nearly 25 per cent of the whole number transported have escaped. Most of the exiles are in the prime of life, which makes it more difficult for the government to maintain its hold on them. About one-fifth are women.—EXCHANGE.

FREE SOCIETY.

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ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Correspondents and exchanges will please take notice, and change our temporary address, 1360 N. Rockwell St., to 515 CARROLL AVE., Chicago, Ill. Some of the mail continues to be sent to 236 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Cal. It is important that this should be changed immediately, in order to avoid trouble and annoyance.

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Among the Comrades.

After great efforts and sacrifices on the part of the Chicago comrades, our removal from San Francisco to Chicago has been accomplished. It is our hope that we will now be enabled to improve the paper; and be of greater service to the propaganda. The size of the paper has been doubled, in the expectation that the comrades everywhere will make greater efforts, and thus enable us to issue eight pages regularly. It takes both greater efforts and more money to issue the paper in its present form; but we believe that the result will justify the effort.

We are prepared to take upon ourselves the necessary labor; it remains with the comrades and friends of the cause to furnish the wherewithal to continue the work. This can be done by agitating and distributing copies of the paper, and sending in names of persons liberally inclined for sample copies; distributing pamphlets and soliciting subscriptions; and interesting people in our ideal and our cause. Above all, we would urgently press upon our delinquent subscribers not to make it harder for us by their indifference. If these pay up promptly, we shall be able to issue an eight-page paper without great difficulty. No one who is unable to pay, and desires to read the paper, shall be removed from our list; but those who are too indifferent or too negligent to attend to their subscriptions, cannot expect that the paper should be sent to them indefinitely. Those who cannot engage in the propaganda in any other manner, but are desirous of helping in a financial way, can send in their contributions, and thus help us to make the paper more useful and interesting.

In considering the advisibility of removing the paper to Chicago, it seemed desirable to make the change at once, if it was made at all; therefore it was undertaken as speedily as possible. It was at first thought that Comrade Morton was to make a propaganda tour through the various States on the route here; but when we were about ready to start, he decided, for reasons which he explains in another column, to remain in California. It was then too late to withdraw from our move; and so we lost his assistance as editor on the paper. He will still contribute to the paper, and take an interest in the propaganda, as he explains; so we shall not lose entirely the assistance of his able pen; but his withdrawal has left us, for the present at least, without a competent person to take charge of the literary management of FREE SOCIETY. So we would ask all our comrades of literary ability, to make a special effort for a time, and send articles and make suggestions. It is very important that the literary department of any paper should be well taken care of; and we wish to especially impress this upon all the comrades, and urge them to send in also clippings and news of the movement.

It is always encouraging when the comrades are aware of the activity in other localities; so reports of the propaganda should be considered as a part of the work. We shall do our best to give the comrades as complete a survey of our movement all over the world, from time to time, as the means at our disposal will permit.

If it is possible FREE SOCIETY will come out regularly in its present form; and improvements will be made as fast as the funds at our command will justify them.

The comrades in this city have generously extended to us their fraternal co-operation, and we publish in this issue a statement and appeal by them, which, we hope, will find a complaisant reponse. FREE SOCIETY.

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To Our Comrades.

After much expense, labor and delay, FREE SOCIETY goes forth from its new home in a new garb and increased size, to battle with the hosts of ignorance and superstition. This has been made possible mainly through the untiring devotion and energy of a very few comrades in this city.

Most of us agree that the propaganda must be pursued; and FREE SOCIETY in its present size is a very effective means to that end. Indeed, it is indispensible to the vigorous propaganda our hopeful hearts would like to see marching upon the bulwarks of authority in every hamlet, town and city in America. But the extra expense of maintaining it in its present size, ought not, in justice, be drawn altogether from the meager earnings of those few who, in their large-heartedness and devotion, have given their every mite to the cause. Justice, equity, *Anarchy* demands that this shall not continue. Let us cast off the lethargy we so much deplore in the unfeeling world, and by the propaganda of action fit ourselves for the equal responsibilities of a free society. Of what value is our theorizing, if it is not substantiated by practice?

This movement and this paper are yours, and you ought to feel a personal responsibility in their maintenance. Indifference is no part of and has no place in Auarchy; that is the characteristic of inhumanity—of capitalism. Don't lean back in your easy chair, with the philosophical complacency that evolution will abolish injustice and enforced authority, and enthrone equity and freedom: remember that *you* are evolution, or the term has no meaning; and insofar as you exercise your powers to the accomplishment of those ends, so far does evolution work, and not a whit farther. Whilst you continue in a state of inaction, evolution is manifesting itself through your active comrades, and thus you become their exploiters by partaking of the liberties they gained while you slept.

Now, we do not want to exploit our comrades; but having expended nearly $600 in moving and establishing FREE SOCIETY in its new quarters, our means are about exhausted; and it would be appropriate for the comrades in other cities to take some part in the work to be done.

We do not intend to be inactive even after our heavy expenses. We have formed a club for the express purpose of sustaining FREE SOCIETY and its publications. Each member has promised to pay a certain fee per week, according to his means—some 25, others 50 cents. There is no uniform due. The club meets once a week, to discuss the work and take such steps as it sees fit to further the object in view.

If such clubs were formed in every city, FREE SOCIETY with eight pages, pamphlets, and the quarterly—all invaluable to a successful propaganda—would be assured a solid financial basis, and the movement boom.

Much additional help has been promised by those favorable to the change. Now that the change is made, those comrades are expected to respond at once. Very little has come in since the last issue, and if the paper is to continue in its present size, aid must come very soon. FREE SOCIETY SUSTAINING CLUB.

JAY FOX, Secretary,
Chicago, Ill., 108 - 38th St.

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Note and Comment.

It is not through any spirit of desertion, that I have not accompanied FREE SOCIETY to Chicago. I had fully intended to do so; but circumstances of a personal nature compel me to remain for some time in San Francisco. About the future I cannot now speak with certainty. Wherever I may be, my heart will be in the Anarchist movement; and I shall do all I can in its interest. To avoid misunderstanding, I desire to say emphatically that I do not remain here as the result of any disagreement with the FREE SOCIETY group, or the comrades in Chicago. I have the warmest feelings of personal friendship for all of them; and I shall continue to write for FREE SOCIETY. I am detained here by important personal matters, which make it practically impossible for me to leave California, for at least a number of months. I should like to join the comrades in Chicago, but am consoled by knowledge of the fact that others can readily be found, amply qualified to make FREE SOCIETY an ideal representative of the Anarchist propaganda in America.

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The establishment of FREE SOCIETY in Chi-

cago ought to inspire new life into every phase of the movement. By its historic associations, no less than from its geographic situation, Chicago is logically the storm centre of the revolutionary propaganda in the United States. The time is ripe for a vigorous forward movement. The comrades who have struggled against every difficulty for years, in order to carry on the needed work done by FREE SOCIETY in the past, are prepared to continue their efforts, with the same unflagging zeal. But they cannot work alone. Every one of us is needed, each in the place for which he is best fitted. Let each be prepared to do his or her share, by making the paper and its mission known to others, by furnishing articles calculated to advance the propaganda, by writing an encouraging letter now and then, by reporting the news of the movement as promptly as possible, and by furnishing the financial support, without which no paper can live. Let us all pull together for the liberty of humanity.

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Comstockism is still rampant, and as venemous as ever. Upon the complaint of a preacher sneak in Atlanta, Ga., Comrade Govan of Home, Wash., has been arrested, and fined seventy-five dollars and costs, amounting to nearly a hundred dollars. The complaint was based on an article by Comrade Addis, which appeared in *Discontent* last April. The article was one of the best ever written by Comrade Addis, and so delicately worded that only the vulgarly prurient mind of a mossback clergyman could scent out obscenity in it. As Comrade Govan is a representative of all radical thinkers, and has received this dastardly blow while fighting the battle for humanity, I trust that comrades will see to it that the financial loss shall not rest entirely on his shoulders. His address is Chas. L. Govan, Home, Wash.

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The *Tocsin*, of Melbourne, Australia, is a paper of excellent taste. At least, I may be pardoned for thinking so, since it shows so great an admiration for one of FREE SOCIETY'S editorials as to reprint it as an utterance of its own. Plagiarism is undoubtedly one form of compliment, if not the highest.

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If the story told yesterday by Emilia Guizar to Immigrant Inspector De la Torre be true, Valentine Haddock, a tailor doing business in the city of Stockton, will be deprived of the society of a lady with whom his relations were of an extremely friendly nature. Miss Guizar, in response to the question put by the inspector, said that she had lived in Stockton since 1885 up to three months ago, when she went to Mexico for a visit to relatives. She informed Mr. De la Torre also that she had been living with the tailor, and was returning to him to resume the former relations. Her story was backed up with a business card of the tailor named.

With Miss Guizar came Maria Garcia, a comely Mexican damsel of 30 years. She had no relatives here, she said, and no money; but Miss Guizar had paid her passage and would obtain easy employment for her. Upon De la Torre's report, Immigration Commissioner North ordered both women deported on the steamer Peru, on which they had arrived; Miss Guizar because she had admitted that she was returning to lead an immoral life with the tailor; and Miss Garcia, because she was likely to become a public charge, being a pauper.—Press Dispatch.

In this "free country," the cowardly marriage system proves incapable of holding its own, without the constant commission of outrages of the foregoing description, on those who arrange their private affairs without the aid of licensed intermeddlers. The doom is near of any institution which can only thrive by persecuting those who fail to conform to its antiquated methods.

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The Whitewashing Committee finds that brutality in the murder institution at West Point is a cardinal virtue. Such a little thing as clear proof of the fiendish barbarism of the cadets did not trouble it in the least. It knew what verdict it was paid to bring in; and the evidence was a matter of no consequence.

* * *

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9.—Captain Reiter, who is supervising work on the new battleship Wisconsin at San Francisco, has recommended that the plan of putting the ship in commission on the first proximo be reconsidered. When that plan was arranged, the fact was overlooked that February 1 falls on Friday. Old salts say there is no record of a warship being put into active service on that so-called unlucky day of the week. The matter evidently has been brought to the attention of Captain Chester; for a letter has just been received at the department from him, recommending that the Wisconsin be put in commission on either January 28 or February 4—both Mondays—instead of February 1, the day originally selected.—*The Examiner.*

It is most appropriate that the captain of a murder ship should be a superstitious ass, but quite a serious reflection on the intelligence of the American people that such a vulgar superstition should receive official recognition. Are we still in the age of mediæval credulity? Evidently the gigantic government superstition finds it convenient to drag along all the lesser superstitions in its train.

* * *

The Anarchists are now the third party in American politics. The election returns show that the number of those who abstained from voting throughout the country showed a larger increase, both numerically and proportionally, than that secured by any party which was in existence four years ago. There were a million more stay-at-homes last fall than in 1896; while the votes of all the minority parties combined, the Democratic excepted, amounted to less than 400,000. This was the result of a hot campaign, with eight parties in the field. Every shade of opinion, except the Anarchist, had a chance at the polls; for the few disgruntled gold Democrats formed but an insignificent faction. Of course, the immense number who did not vote were not all avowed Anarchists. Thousands of them would repudiate the name, and that with the utmost indignation. The point is that about a twelfth of the voters of the country, whatever their theories may be, have lost faith in the ballot, as a means of accomplishing anything. It is one of the most striking signs of the times. The current is slowly, but surely turning in our direction. Let us take advantage of it, and push the Anarchist propaganda with a vigor never before known.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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A Retrospect and a Speculation.

PART I.

A number of years ago, when I threw off the last vestiges of reverence for Church and State which a pious mother had done her best to inculcate, I found myself becoming very sanguine of the early destruction of the capitalist system. Existing institutions were stripped of the glamor which had surrounded them; and I saw them as they are—planless, hideous, cruel. It seemed to me then that the system was rotten ripe, falling to decay from sheer corruption; and that it could not in the nature of things last many years. Other radicals of my acqaintance held similar views. In discussing the probabilities of an early change, most of us felt very sure that eight or ten years at the farthest would witness the downfall of capitalism, and the triumph of the Cooperative Commonwealth. The most conservative of our number did not place the social revolution further away than the end of the century; and I remember how those of us who were more sanguine would ridicule the (as it seemed to us) conservative predictions of our fellows. We were all prophets in those days.

Conditions being ripe for the great upheaval, the new social regime was to be ushered in with the least possible friction, and in the shortest possible time. Of course, it was believed that the capitalists and politicians holding fat jobs would stubbornly resist the proposed change, and would summon to their assistance all the forces which they control, even the government itself; but with the working people thoroughly aroused and determined as one man to throw off the yoke of wage slavery, such resistance would be futile, and overcome with comparative ease. A comparatively few lives would need to be sacrificed; and there would of course be some destruction of property; but the working people, in conjunction with many members of the middle and professional classes, would be in such overwhelming numbers that the struggle would be soon ended; and the triumph of the New Democracy would be complete. Just what was to arouse the proletariat to final action was somewhat problematical. Some thought that through the inauguration of a great strike in a particular industry, a general strike throughout the country would ensue; others held that the change would come as an unlooked for political measure, not through the election of any reform party to power, but as a matter of expediency, much in the same way, perhaps, as Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was one of the results of the election of the Republican party to power, in 1860. But whatever differences of opinion there were as to the particular way the Social Revolution was to be brought about, there was no question that it would be an accomplished fact within a very few years; and it was not doubted that, in some way, the working people of the entire civilized world would become united in the final overthrow of the capitalist system.

The Revolution fairly inaugurated, the next and most important step would be the establishment of industry and the various activities of life upon equitable bases; and this, while a matter presenting some difficulty, would by no means be found to be insurmountable, but would be safely and quickly accomplished. The principles of Liberty and Solidarity being simple, and few in number, there would be no great difficulty in adjusting all the affairs of our complex society to them; and there seemed very little doubt, in the mind of anyone, that people of all grades would most gladly accept the new

conditions, since they were to be just to all men.

Thus we reasoned; and thus we hoped and dreamed. Every great event was looked upon as a possible climax—the Haymarket affair, the A. R. U. strike of 1893, and even the presidential campaign of 1896. But the end of the century is here; and we seem as far from the realization of our hopes and dreams as ever. The masses of the people hug their chains, worship their gods and persecute their champions, with a persistency that is appalling. Perhaps, taking everything into consideration, it is just as well that the crisis has not come. It may be that conditions are not yet sufficiently ripe; that other changes must first take place, before the people will be ready to accept so great a change as we propose. Of course we cannot have Socialism or Anarchism, until a very large number of people are ready for and demand radical reform; and it seems difficult to imagine how the masses can be converted by the mere agitation that is being made by advocates of the different schools of radical thought. Our deceased comrade, Dyer D. Lum, used to be very fond of expressing himself in a way something like this: There is more education in a single event than in years of agitation by press and speech. Perhaps in this truism will be found the key that will unlock this intricate problem of the future. Events educate! The people have received their education, and been prepared for great changes in the past, by those great events which mark the pages of history, which have served as milestones upon the pathway of progress. In this age of unrest and scientific development, we may look with confidence for even greater and more momentous events to occur. It is not at all improbable that the onward march of progress and the scheming brain of man will evolve something that will make a radical form of society not only desirable and acceptable to the masses, but absolutely indispensable to the future welfare of the race. It will do no harm to speculate a little as to what the near future may bring forth. WM. HOLMES.

(Concluded in next issue.)

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A Fatal Mistake.

It is seldom that we meet with a writer who traces the origin and growth of government as clearly as J. Wm. Lloyd has done in "The Red Heart in a White World." We are told—and it is self-evident to the reader—that the main thought of the work is Anarchistic. Yet in deference to the distorted views of the general public, the term Free Socialist is chosen, instead of Anarchist-Communist. Starting from man in a primitive state, and searching through all the various forms and systems existing among and controlling so-called civilized peoples, it is found that nothing is so vital to human progress as the natural order of society found among the primitive tribes of men, and that "avoiding these few errors, the child and the savage" are the true models from which to build a free society of men.

Among the so-called savage specimens of humanity are found the faculties that, with proper cultivation, would lead to a grand development of the race; but as the human mind is capable of perversion, as well as normal development, and responds more or less to environment, through these causes it is not hard to recognize that the twentieth century savage, in all the glory of his civilization (?), retains much of the cruelty of his ancestors. We are more subtle and refined in our methods, it is true, but as painful to the victim; while, on the other hand, we have lost much of the beautiful simplicity and hospitable spirit that the men of savage tribes manifest when met with friendly adventurers. Hedin, a Swedish explorer, who spent four years in the wilds of Asia among savage tribes, relates that he was treated as a brother by them; and that a white man, who would accord them decent treatment, had nothing to fear from these children of nature.

The basis of a perfectly harmonious aggregation of human beings, the embryo of which exists in savage society, Comrade Lloyd defines as follows:

Equal rights and liberties.
Unequal powers.
Natural leaders and advisors.
Cooperative defense.
Cooperative assistance.
Division of labor.
Mutual employment.
Free commerce.
Free affection.
Free thought.

This model of a free society that contains all its "essential elements," is capable of being turned or rather has been turned into the wrong channel through the use of perverted force, acting against the species, instead of outside enemies.

"The natural leader becomes a tyrant, the advisor a legislator"; and government, with its full train of attendant horrors, begins the work of modern cannibalism: the strong devouring the weak.

Clear and beautiful is the explanation of Lloyd; and I would like to emphasize his statement that the "instinct of defense is the natural and philosophical check on government." But here, too, Lloyd points out that the blind use of this instinct may lead to direful results, if it degenerates into a partisan spirit that tempts men to fight for leaders, instead of principles; for on the top-wave of the revolution the biggest rascals among men have ridden to place and power and become in their turn tyrants.

After thoroughly studying Comrade Lloyd's explanations and definitions of a free society, and the origin of government, I was surprised to see him clinging to a most pernicious idea in the outline plan of an organization of free comrades, and that idea is "*natural leadership.*" It matters not that the word "non-compulsory" he tacked on. The word leader implies that some are led. The spirit that animates the leader and the led, is the spirit that led man astray, and still keeps his face from the dawn. Observe that bulwark of the State, organized Christianity, controlled by natural leaders who receive the non-compulsory support of those willing to be led. Labor organizations at various times exhibit shining examples of natural leaders. Powderly is one. Political parties furnish the worst specimens, and show the degradation that men can descend to when dominated by this idea.

The proposed outline of organization, giving rules for the election of leaders to the order known as "Free Comrades," sounds much like the rules laid down in my boy's school books on civil government. The local leaders, elected by unanimous vote of the respective groups, are to form a special general council to assist and advise the general leader of the order, who is elected by majority vote. There is also a provision that these natural (?) leaders hold office until resignation or the election of a successor, or till convicted of crime.

I must confess that this latter has a humorous tinge. The "essentials" of a free society are natural leaders, and it is intimated that these leaders are liable to act like the leaders in a governed society; and so there is to be a penalty attached for their misdeeds.

"The local leader represents and leads his people," (his people! visions of Ireland! what next?) "studies everything conducive to their safety, happiness, and health, cares for the helpless, advises the general leader and with the local council constitutes a court or jury, to try cases and defend justice." In a footnote we are informed that a member can appeal from this court to that of a jury chosen by lot, and from that to the majority vote of the group. From this last "*there can be no appeal.*"

Now Comrade Lloyd in the begining of his work told us that the spirit of resistance was the "natural check on government," and it might operate at times, with a disastrous effect on this court of last resort, the majority vote of a free (?) society.

The more I study the plan of organization for the C. F. S., the more I am convinced that the originators failed to eliminate the errors found in the savages' social state. It is a putting of the old wine in new bottles with new labels; but the spirit that breeds tyrants is in flavor. Before closing I wish to call attention to the fact that leadership is the life and soul of a partisan spirit, and breeds jealousy and discord without end. It is the death-knell of harmony and liberty, and the negation of equality and fraternity.

Have I been too severe in this criticism of the plans of loyal and true men? I think not. The "Red Heart" is full of clear thoughts and noble plans for the future. It appeals to all the higher and gentler feelings, and the love of peace. The one mistake that in my humble opinion would ruin this fair dream of the future, is an expressed allegiance to the so-called natural leadership of the superior. No real progress can be made until men are convinced of the fatal fallacy of relying upon leadership. Just as long as men have leaders, so long will they be torn asunder, and divided into warring factions.

Comrade Lloyd has clearly traced the tyrants of to day back to the natural leaders of primitive men. How fatal to his beautiful ideal of a free society, then, is the so-called "essential" of that society's "natural leadership"! If we would grow in freedom, let us reject that fatal error of the ignorant savage. A hateful idea, born of an untutored mind! It is the key that locks our chains, as well as the tyrants' stronghold.

I admit, there are men and women so lovely in character that the thought of them is an inspiration. Like the strong April west wind blowing over the uplands, they stimulate to growth. In this hard struggle for existence, it fairly rests one to contemplate the virtues of a Kropotkin or a Malatesta, of our own Emma Goldman or Voltairine de Cleyre. Yet to yield allegiance to these highly endowed comrades, would mean the negation of *all* their lives stand for. So it is with "The Red Heart in the White World." The plan of organization negates the principles of equality, fraternity and liberty that illuminates the title page. Read it and see. KATE AUSTIN.

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Victoria.

A weak, simple-minded old woman, devoid of intellect and sparsely imbued with human sympathy, the symbolical head of what was once a kingdom, dies; and the newspapers of the world loudly bemoan the great loss, and use hundreds of tons of ink in expatiating upon her many supposed virtues.

What has she done to merit all this praise?

She has been a queen for sixty-four years, and during that long period of idleness has not enriched the world with a single thought, nor elevated the standard of human kindness by a single act, unless indeed we except the $500 she donated to the Indian famine fund in 1897. She received a salary of nearly two million dollars, pilfered mostly from those alien people; and then, when they were dying by hundreds of thousands of starvation, their kind and charitable empress flung a crumb of $500 into their alms box. Gracious queen!

She has shown her subjects and us, their cousins, a splendid example in frugality and self-denial; for during her lifetime she managed to save fifty millions from her meager earnings. To do that, she must have deprived herself of many luxuries. At all events, succeess has crowned her crowned head, and the world of rule and robbery exult in praise.

Again: When it became necessary to further the ends of capitalism, and, incidentally, to enlarge "her majesties domain," and uphold the national "prestige" and honor (?) by human slaughter in Afghanistan, Egypt, Soudan, Africa, China, or elsewhere, Victoria always cheered her soldiers on, with hopeful words, and decorated her Woolsleys, Kitcheners, and Roberts with royal insignia, marking the height of esteem and admiration in which she held them and their bloodthirsty deeds. Kitchener, the most inhuman rascal of them all, who carried his "civilizing" process to the extreme of shooting men from the mouths of his cannon, besides his lordly decorations, received personal praise and all the fawnings that decrepit old woman could bestow upon him.

And hers is the life that is held up to us as a great and glorious example; and so indeed, it is. But surely not of love, sympathy and honor, or any of the attributes that go to make up a truly good and lovable women. True, she has wept over the corpse of John Brown; but it is a common atribute of women to weep over the graves of their lovers. Yet, to say, as the toad-eating press has said, that her life has been an exemplification of goodness, love and true womanly aspiration, is carrying the matter too far; for there is no evidence upon which to base such assertions. On the contrary, all the main facts of her life point in an opposite direction; and it could not be otherwise, for the simple fact alone that she lived the life of a parasite, preying upon the sustenance of millions of whose existence, even, she did not know, would vitiate and destroy the effect of any good she might have tried to accomplish. The very first kind act that should characterize the life of any one of her class, should be to abdicate; to get off the backs of the people, then proceed with their good works. The people have had quite enough of this crum-casting and will not tolerate it much longer. They are beginning to see that the charity of the privileged, whether they be royal, aristocratic or republican, is an insult to the dignity of manhood, a snare in which to entrap the applause of the ignorant, and must vanish from the earth as man's minds expand, and the fire of liberty begins to enflame and electrify their hearts. It are not weaklings, kings and qeeuns, that Anarchists want to remove, but the ignorance that makes it possible for those parasites to foist themselves on the people, and control their lives and destinies.

It matters not whether the parasites wear the royal robe or the plain republican prince albert of the American capitalist—the result is the same; and the American workingmen, the largest wealth-producers and consequently the most enslaved on earth, had better soon wake up to this fact. Parasitism must go or the race perish. JAY FOX.

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Monkey vs. Man.

Go to the monkey, thou voter, consider his ways and be wise. Do the monkeys pay ground rent to the descendants of the first old ape who discovered the valley where the monkeys live?

Do they hire the trees from the chimpanze who first found the forest?

Do they buy the cocoanuts from the great-great grandchildren of the gorilla who invented a way to crack them?

Do they allow two or three monkeys to form a corporation and obtain control of all the paths that lead through the woods?

Do they permit some smart young monkey, with superior business ability, to claim all the springs of water in the forest as his own, because of some alleged bargain made by their ancestors 500 years ago?

Do they allow a smart gang of monkey lawyers to so tangle up their conception of ownership that a few will obtain possession of everything?

Do they appoint a few monkeys to govern them and then allow those appointed monkeys to rob the tribe and mis-manage all its affairs?

Do they build up a monkey city and then hand over the land, and the paths, and the trees, and the springs, and the fruits, to a few monkeys who sat on a log and chattered while the work was going on?—Exchange.

Servile Reverence.

No one would for a moment allow another to touch him offensively nor to handle him as if he acted with authority; he would consider it to be the gravest assumption and the height of impudence for any one to dictate to him what to do, or attempt to exercise the slightest control over his action at any time or in any manner. But let a man present himself with a star on his breast, a club in his hand, or a strap on his shoulder, and how tame, how submissive and how obsequious he at once becomes! If such a man should order him to black his boots or brush his pantaloons, he would drop down on his knees and begin his humble task with alacrity! He would consider that to be something that he was made for. If he did not obey, and obey cheerfully, it would show that he was not properly educated, or that something in his make-up was wrong. Every cultured and well-educated gentleman feels it his duty to reverence the State and pay due homage to its representatives at all times. Not to do so would be high treason, and those who decline to obey the authorities are called Anarchists or criminals. Does not the flag of our country float freely over our school-houses as a reminder to the rising generation that obedience to the State is the paramount duty at all times?

When we come to consider the matter carefully and fully, we shall find that the man whom we obey so timidly and so slavishly, is just such a man as the most ordinary individual whom we meet daily. The difference lies solely in the star or the club. It is not the man that we obey, but the club. It is fear of the club, not conscience, that makes cowards of us all. The club is the emblem of the State. We do not do what we want to do, nor what we believe should be done, but we do what we are ordered to do, and because we are ordered to do it. Fear, fear of a little trouble or inconvenience, or of the loss of a little money, determines our course, and we obey the officer of the law for precisely the same reason that the slave obeys his master. In both cases, it is not a question of right or preference, but one of fear and expediency. So the world goes, and a race of cowards who dare not assert themselves in any way continues to perpetuate itself.

Reverence for the law—or rather fear of the club—makes very queer people of us, speaking generally. It blinds us, it makes us dumb, it transmutes us. If we had been left to grow up naturally, without fear and without the restraint of the law, we should all of us have been very different beings from what we are now. Everything would appear to us in a new light, and some things that are looked upon as proper enough now would not be tolerated for a moment. For instance, if our vision were not distorted and our hearts were not calloused, we would not stand by as we do now and see a man who calls himself an officer step up and arrest a citizen under any circumstances. What is it to arrest a man? Have you ever seen anything of the kind done? To arrest a man, as it is practised in this country, means a great deal, for one who has the common feelings and sensibilities of the race. To arrest a man means a blow on the head with a club, or a kick in the side with a boot, if the victim happens to walk too slowly, or ventures to say a word by way of complaint or remonstrance. It means chains on his wrist and sometimes on his ankles besides; it means the roughest kind of treatment and a landing finally in some dirty, vermine-covered cell in a lock-up or jail! This is what happens in every considerable town or city in the country, not simply once a year but every day, and this treatment is not confined to dangerous men nor vicious criminals, but is applied to any American citizen who happens to attract the attention or incur the displeasure of an officer of the law! Free America! We would not stand by and see the meanest cur treated as citizens are treated daily, when, either with or without cause, they are placed under arrest. And still we call this country free America!

An officer of the law can well afford to be brave, in dealing with helpless men and women, seeing that he has the State with all its power on his side. If he and his victim were on equal terms, it is probable he would act with more circumspection than he usually does. No, barring some exceptions of course, these officers are not brave men but cowards. They shoot or strike because they fear that the one they are about to arrest has some wicked purpose or some concealed weapon. But a brave man disdains to be cruel.

A constable, and his modern representative, the policeman, is a very remarkable personage, and we know his pedigree very well. In the darkest days of old England, hundreds of years ago, they had constables, and as we have copied the English law and practice in every essential particular, we have retained this antiquated institution down to the present time.

Did you ever take the trouble to consider and realize what a powerful and consequential fellow the constable is? He is a law unto himself. He tries a man on the spot, and without court or evidence. For him no proof is needed. Everything depends upon the state of the constable's mind—and somewhat upon the state of his stomach. What a man drinks last sometimes modifies his views of things.

It is a curious fact that if people wish to settle their difficulties after the harm has been done or a crime has been committed, the State refuses to permit anything of the kind to occur. That would be compounding a felony, which is known to be a very bad thing indeed. The State does not mean to lose any of its perquisites, nor permit any one to interfere with its prerogatives.—J. Wilson, Newark, N. Y.

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There is a popular impression that chattel slavery in Africa, and especially in British dominions, is a thing of the past. But it is estimated that there are fifty million slaves in Africa, and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, governed by great Britain, 260,000 are held in bondage. The horrors of the slave trade are so great that for each slave who reaches the coast eight or nine die on the way, so that the supply of 7,000 slaves smuggled into Zanzibar represents the murdering of about 60,000 annually. In Zanzibar nearly all the hard work is performed by slaves, and it is a common sight to see women chained together in gangs of seven, working under the supervision of a policeman armed with a lash. But the most fiendish treatment of slaves is that accorded by the Germans in the Cammeroon to the unfortunate natives. The details are almost too horrible to be believed, but have been sworn to by Germans, officers and civilians. But the home government has done nothing to suppress the villany. These facts are respectfully referred to those who believe that all goodness in the world is contained in the Anglo-Saxon race, and that all the cruelty and badness is among the Latins.—Justice.

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Young Doctor—I find it hard to draw the line between hay fever and influenza.

Old Doctor—It is hard, my boy; but social distinctions have to be made; there's no help for it.—Detroit *Journal.*

Here and There.

Famished with hunger, Chas. Meyers, a former travelling salesman, attacks a baker's wagon, steals bread, then coolly sits upon the sidewalk and eats it. He is arrested, of course (who ever heard of a bread thief that wasn't?); and in extenuation of his act pleaded hunger. Tomorrow morning he will learn that it is criminal to be hungry, and that the city will undertake to work and starve him for a month or more in the house of correction.

I feel sorry for you, Meyers. You lost your job when the trust bought out your employers. Be consoled, my friend. It is written in the inexorable law of evolution that they, too, shall soon be cast into the ranks of the unemployed with you and I. But once there are enough of us there, we may set to work of getting out, and trust to our own right arms to do the job, stimulated by the gnawings of our stomachs and the hungry cries of our wives and children.

* * *

Manila had an editor who was so poorly versed in the ways of commercialism and liberty, as exemplified in our "new dependencies," that he actually spoke the truth. But he is not there now. McArthur gazzled him, pitched him aboard a ship, and sent him back home an exile, with the characterization that he was "dangerous, incendiary and a menace to the military situation." What are we going to do with him, general? Don't you think he is going to be "a menace to the military situation" here, or don't you care? What do you take us for? Do you think we will permit you to make a dumping ground out of this free country for your Anarchist editors? The situation is becoming quite dangerous enough here as it is, without any more of them kind of chaps to go hawking the truth about in their papers, on the street corners.

We furnished you with reputation, men and maxims, to spread the glorious doctrines of "peace on earth and good will toward men" abroad; and now that you have gained the upmost round in the ladder of authority, you look down upon us poor ungoverned creatures, and send us a man whom you say refused to retract his utterances, and "insisted the article was truthful, and took up a defiant attitude when threatened with deportment."

Mr. President! I move the commissioner of emigration be instructed not to permit that man to land until these charges have been proven.

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I insist that Anarchy is what the dictionaries say it is, and I don't want any of it in mine.—*Blue Grass Blade.*

Very well, read the quotation from the Century Dictionary in the editorial column of FREE SOCIETY; and don't make such a fool of yourself as to think the wisdom of the ages is concentrated in the editorial chair of the *Blue Grass Blade*. We all give you credit for more intelligence, however, than you would have us think you possess, by your effort to shield your misrepresentation of Anarchy behind the gauzy veil of Webster's antiquated definition. You know Anarchy is a philosophy formulated since old Webster died, and that modern dictionaries have recognized that fact by adding new definitions, antithetical to the old, which you pretend you did not see. But "none are so blind as those who will not see." If I want to know the philosophy of the *Blue Grass Blade*, assuming it had any, I would inquire of C. C. Moore, and not of Priest Talmage; and if you would be fair, Bro. Moore, you would accept the Anarchists' definition of Anarchy. But you are not fair, and only make yourself ridiculous in the eyes of all liberal-mineded people, by your attitude towards a philosophy of which you are totally ignorant.

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Poverty and riches, the greatest enemies of man, once melted in the glowing furnace of freedom, will form a new element—happiness—that will glorify the ages to come.

J. F.

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Literature.

Socialism and Modern Seience. By Enrico Ferri. Translated by Robert Rives La Monte. New York, N. Y. International Library Publishing Co.

This is, on the whole, an excellent work from a Socialist standpoint. Its aim is to establish a perfect consistency between the biological discoveries of Darwin and his successors, and the economic theories of the Marxian school. Some of his conclusions are at least problematic. His incidental declaration that woman is the physiological and psychological inferior of man, will be challenges by many of his own school. A striking passage is that in which the author admits Communism, as conceived by Anarchists, to be a higher ideal than Socialist collectivism. The latter, however, he maintains, must be the next stage in social evolution.

Dawn-Thought. By J. William Loyd, Westfield, N. J. Price, de luxe $1.25, plain $1.00, paper 50 cents.

This book will be of special interest to those who are attracted by the idealist philosophy. It is a finely-worded exposition of pantheistic thought, filled with the spirit of universal love and brotherhood. The author is an optimist in the widest sense, writing from the standpoint of Whitman and Carpenter. The book contains none of the ascetic doctrine, found in too many works of this character, but exalts the full life, in which the man expresses every side of his being.

J. F. M.

Communismus und Anarchie. By Peter Kropotkin. International Club Freiheit, 63 Myrtle Ave,, Ridgewood, Brooklyn, N. Y. Price 5 cents.

This pamphlet has recently been published in the German language by some comrades in Brooklyn; and is a translation of a contribution written by Comrade Kropotkin for the Paris Congress. Briefly he points out that Communism, as understood by the Anarchists today, is a conditon in which the individual is guaranteed the greatest freedom imaginable; while, on the other hand, Communism as understood by Christians and authoritarian Socialists, involves also the greatest slavery of the individual. Our German comrades ought to circulate this excellent treatise among their liberal friends, and thereby eliminate the prejudice prevailing against Anarchist-Communism.

The Letter-Box.

V. D., Los Angeles, Cal.—Thanks for encouraging words. Contributions from your pen are always welcome. No; there is no harm in having a declaration of our ideas and principles printed for distribution; but comrades who are anxious to make Anarchism a "respectable" issue, would most emphatically object to some of your views, while their declaration would not be satisfactory to you, which shows the futility of an Anarchist "platform."

K. A., Caplinger Mills, Mo.—The assertion that "no good ever comes through revolt," is a phrase of the timid to excuse their own cowardice; and contradictory to historical social changes. You certainly strike the key-note when you say that "they forget that revolt cracks the shell of old institutions, or else their blessed chick, evolution, would die in the shell." A revolution is as natural and inevitable in the course of evolution as a thunderstorm. Only in a state of freedom we may expect a more or less peaceable evolution.

L. B., St Louis, Mo.—Up to No. 298 the paper has been mailed regularly to your address; if you did not receive it, either the postoffice or somebody in your own house are at fault.

J. B., Hytop, Ala.—The move from San Fsancisco to Chicago was made in order that we should be able to do better and more effective propaganda. It is not a fact, however, as you state, that "San Francisco is willing and able to support an Anarchist paper." The paper has always been supported from all sections of the country; and, owing to the efforts and devotion of a hard-working comrade, Chicago has done more than any other city, if the question should resolve itself into a matter of support merely. As to starting a new paper, that will be done whenever a number of comrades feel themselves willing and able to do so; and that without prejudice to any Anarchist paper now existing, if they are led by the spirit of fraternal cooperation; but in this case the comrades desired to move FREE SOCIETY, rather than to publish a new paper.

J. C., Marion, Ind.—It is hardly credible that Comrade E. G. should have made the statements which now circulate in the daily press; but I suppose we shall soon hear from herself. The clippings sent are always helpful, even if they cannot be quoted or commented upon.

S. B., New York City.—That some colleges begin to take an active interest in social problems, is gratifying indeed. Yet let us not expect too much from these half-baked Socialists, who are ever ready to compromise with existing institutions. As Prof. Herron says, Socialism is in great danger that capitalism will engraft itself upon it, and absorb the whole movement. By the the way, Prof. Herron lectures in this city every Sunday before large audiences, advocating the principles of Anarchist-Communism, although gives his philosophy a somewhat religious tinge.

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NOTICE.

Commencing February 7, FREE SOCIETY Sustaining Club will meet every Wednesday evening at the home of FREE SOCIETY, 515 Carroll Ave., corner St. Johns Place. Comrades and friends are kindly invited to attend these meetings as often as possible. Their presence and advice will always help the movemement.

The Lake Street Elevated, Ashland Avenue Station, or any surface line crossing Ashland Ave. or Paulina Street will take you here, which is one block east of Ashland Ave.

THE RECEIPTS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED IN OUR NEXT ISSUE, BECAUSE WE WERE SO BUSY THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE TO ATTEND TO THEM. OUR BOOK LIST WILL THEN ALSO APPEAR.